

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 66

London: September 18, 1937

2d.

## TRUTH BECOMES A WAR CASUALTY



DR. H. R. L. SHEPPARD,

who will be pacifist candidate in the Rectorial election at Glasgow University. Other candidates will be Mr. Winston Churchill (Unionist), Professor Macneill Dickson (Scottish Nationalist), and Professor J. B. S. Haldane (Popular Front).

Glasgow University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity on Dr. Sheppard in 1927.

An appeal is made to all individuals and organizations supporting the pacifist policy to help with finance, literature, and service. All inquiries should be addressed to Andrew Stewart, 57 Wedderlea Drive, Glasgow, S.W.2.

Progress of the campaign, beginning with the opening of the session on October 12, will be reported weekly in PEACE NEWS.

### Geneva Discussion On League Reform

### DISARMAMENT STILL NOT DEAD!

A DEMAND for the dissociation of the League Covenant from the "Peace" Treaties was made by Mr. Jordan, New Zealand's representative, at Geneva last week.

A committee of jurists is examining the possibilities of this as a preliminary to further reforms, and it was not expected that the meeting of the Assembly which commenced on Monday would do anything more than recommend the committee to continue its work.

Among the many grave matters now occupying the attention of the Assembly, there is one other small ray of hope.

The question of publicity for national "defence" expenditure, about which a draft convention has been circulated to governments, will receive

### War Itself Must be Exposed as Biggest Lie of All

SUPPORT for the pacifist contention that "Truth is the first casualty in war-time" is being abundantly provided by the present situation in the Mediterranean.

Reports have variously declared: It would be better for the Soviet to admit openly that it alone is the great unknown that is plunging Europe into danger. (Daily Telegraph Berlin message.)

The opinion prevails that the British destroyer was attacked by a submarine acting under the orders of the Valencia Government. (Daily Telegraph Rome message.)

Italian warships had sunk two Russian merchantmen in the Mediterranean . . . Fascist Italy is directly responsible for these monstrous crimes. (Daily Telegraph Moscow message.)

Meanwhile in the British Press partisanship leads one section to deny absolutely the truth of reports printed by the other section. To such an extent has this grown that, so far as the war in Spain is concerned, many newspapers adopt toward the side they do not happen to favour an attitude as antagonistic as that displayed during the Great War.

### IN CHINA, TOO

Another example of the way in which war breeds stories of which few can judge the truth was provided last week when the cholera epidemic in the Far East spread to Japanese troops and provided the foundation of an allegation that the Chinese had resorted to "germ warfare"—an accusation immediately denied by Chinese authorities.

How it all recalls the wild stories circulated—and believed—during the Great War!

The war-time lie, however, serves to dupe men who are not naturally bellicose into believing the greatest lie of all: that war can be justified in the name of morality, reason, or anything else.

The "minor" lies are now on the increase—to divert attention from this bigger lie. We must see that they do not.

some attention—a reminder that the hope of disarmament is not entirely forgotten.

(National Peace Council urges constructive action—see page 5.)

### REPLY TO CRITICS OF BOOK THAT SHOWED REALITY OF MODERN WAR

A REPLY to critics of the late Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier's book, *The Men I Killed*, is contained in a letter to the Press by Captain Philip S. Mumford.

The letter has been sent to *Manchester Guardian*, *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Herald*, *Daily Worker*, *News Chronicle*, and *Morning Post*, while a copy has been sent to the Press Association for circulation to the provincial and metropolitan Press.

### The Myth of "Defence"

CHINA, never able to fight successfully, has maintained a standing army of 1,658,000 men.

This expensive form of protection has furnished an excuse for military clashes and subsequent aggression by Japan which maintains an army of 280,000 but has a reserve of 2,000,000 men. Would China have fared worse with no defensive army?—*The Arbitrator*, New York.

("Best Way to Meet an Invading Army"—page three; "Effects of Japan's Gamble"—page eleven.)

### PACIFISM COST THIS MAN HIS JOB

### Can You Help Him?

OWING to his pacifist convictions having become known in his office, a Bromley (Kent) member of the Peace Pledge Union has lost his situation and is finding it difficult to obtain another post.

In a statement to PEACE NEWS he said he enlisted on August 12, 1914, at the age of sixteen, in the East Kent Regiment, "The Buffs." He was twice wounded, resulting in his service being ended on March 21, 1918. Since the War he has had eighteen years' clerical experience.

He has references back to 1914, and is experienced in administration, control of staff, organization, audit, accountancy, statistics, general office routine, &c.

"Can anyone offer me a job, please?" he asks. If you can help him, please tell PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

### ON OTHER PAGES

	Page
Lord Ponsonby . . . .	2
Challenge to Labour . .	5
"Communes" for Workless . . . . .	9

"That General Crozier's last book, *The Men I Killed*, has raised considerable controversy is not difficult to understand," writes Captain Mumford. "It is possible to argue that some of the phraseology might have been differently expressed. Nevertheless, the violent denunciations to which the author has been subjected appear to register prejudice rather than honest disagreement."

"It is, of course, undeniable that soldiers are sometimes shot and threatened with death by their own officers upon active service. Such instances take place in order to retain discipline in situations where the strain upon the nervous system has become practically unbearable. It is obvious that such occasions must increase as the severity of modern war increases."

### NO SLUR ON COURAGE

"To suggest, as General Crozier has done, that soldiers have occasionally been steadied by fear of death from their own officers or from behind, is no reflection upon their courage. To those who have known active service the surprising fact is not that such situations arise, but that they do not arise more often, and to mention this fact in a book is merely to describe modern warfare in its reality."

"Had such statements been written by a general with orthodox views, little notice would have been taken in the Press, and little or no publicity forthcoming."

"General Crozier is being attacked because he was a pacifist attempting to strip the glamour from war."

Meanwhile confirmation of the truth of General Crozier's statement concerning the Portuguese has been provided in a letter, signed "Seventh Dukes," published in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, in which the writer asserts that "no West Riding ex-soldier can fail to understand and, with bitter feeling, sympathize with Crozier."

(An article by Captain Mumford appears on page 6.)

### Suggestion for the Scout Movement

The fact that there is something in common between the Peace Pledge Union and the international side of the Scout Movement is stressed by a PEACE NEWS correspondent in South Devon who is a member of both movements.

The existence of a certain amount of common ground has led him to suggest that a meeting should be arranged between Mr. Hubert Martin, International Scout Commissioner, and Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard.

## Youth Reviews Work of the Summer

From Our Own Correspondent

MEMBERS of the British youth movement met at Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1, last Saturday, to receive informal reports of the various conferences, congresses, and holiday camps held this summer.

Representatives had been sent by the Esperanto League, the International Friendship League, the British Youth Peace Assembly, the League of Nations Union, the Young Theosophists, the Congress of International Proletarian Esperanto, and by Youth House itself.

The reports submitted by the various delegates provided much valuable information on the work that has been done this summer to help along international cooperation.

Of special interest was the report given by the delegate of the International Friendship League who quoted some figures illustrating the remarkable growth of that organization during the last year.

The representative of the British Youth Peace Assembly reported on the camp which had been held near Paris when the opportunity was taken to discuss the Youth Charter which it is hoped to bring before Parliament as soon as possible.

## To Cover New Ground

From Our Own Correspondent

Members of North London groups of the Peace Pledge Union are invited to take part in the Tottenham group's second poster-parade on October 16.

A meeting of the parade organizers will be held on October 8 in the Friends' Meeting House, High Road, Tottenham, N.17, at which all who wish to help in the parade will be welcome. Those unable to attend, but wishing to join in the parade are asked to send their names and addresses to H. Granville Hawkes, 20 Linley Road, N.17, indicating what they are prepared to do (i.e. carry posters or distribute literature—including sale of PEACE NEWS).

It is hoped that the White Hart Lane Estate (between Edmonton, Tottenham, and Wood Green) may be visited by the parade and that there will be a public meeting to conclude.

The object is to arouse enthusiasm and interest in that large new working class quarter for the formation of a new group. At present over fifty pledge signatories are known to reside there but difficulties of work, age, and meeting places have prevented this being done previously.

### AIR RAID "PRECAUTIONS"

Tottenham Peace Council is also active, having received a new lease of life from the rallying of nonconformist churches to the aid of the P.P.U. in its work of reviving local interest in peace. The Cooperative Guild, trade union and labour organizations have begun to take an interest in the work of the council.

On October 15 Mr. R. C. Morrison, Cooperative M.P. for Tottenham, will speak on "Air Raid Precautions" in the Central Library Hall, and a speaker from the League of Nations Union will also be present.

Lord Ponsonby says

Reflections and Comments

## THIS MANIFESTO WILL LOSE SUPPORT FOR LABOUR

A CAREFUL examination of the manifesto on *International Policy and Defence*, issued by the National Council of Labour, will result in serious misgivings and profound depression in the minds of all pacifists in the Labour Party.

There are, indeed, far more of them than the Council is prepared openly to admit. Although they may be a minority they are by no means negligible and their alienation in the great Labour movement may be stretched to breaking point if the leaders insist in pursuing a policy in our international relations which must surely lead to disruption.

They can be, and no doubt will be, easily voted down. **But the movement will lose the active assistance of many of the rank and file and some, too, in authoritative positions whose loyalty to the social and domestic policy of the party is unquestionable.**

There are many too who, from lack of time and opportunity, may be unable to make a careful study of foreign affairs and therefore accept the verdict of the leaders without enthusiasm because they regard foreign questions as subsidiary matters which can be safely left to the charge of those who have the time to study them.

WHATEVER may be true in quiet times the international situation is not a subsidiary matter today.

It is of such vital consequence that the fortunes of the party and its

## WEEK-END CONFERENCE AT JORDANS

From Our Own Correspondent

London peace workers do not have many opportunities of hearing Canon C. E. Raven or Dr. L. P. Jacks, but these pioneers are to address separate sessions of a weekend conference at Old Jordans Hostel, Buckinghamshire, on October 16 and 17.

Pacifists and not-quite pacifists will gather in this beautiful old haunt of true peace to consider together, with a view also to fuller mutual understanding and cooperation, the fundamental problems of practical ways of dealing with an aggressor.

### VISITORS WELCOME

Among other speakers are to be Geoffrey Le Mander, M.P., Miss K. D. Courtney, and members of the Society of Friends. Readers of PEACE NEWS will be very welcome for the whole weekend (fee, 21s. from tea, Saturday, to breakfast, Monday, inclusive) or as visitors to one or more sessions, and are asked to send a card to Miss Peggy Smith, c/o League of Nations Union, 43 Russell Square, London, W.C.1, who will supply fuller particulars.

future may be said to rest on the wise handling of the problems which confront us.

While there is such a thing as an imperialistic foreign policy and a democratic foreign policy it is a mistake to suppose that in the eddies and fluctuations of diplomacy there is, as there must be in domestic policy, a clear-cut line between the two at any particular moment. This is more especially the case in these days when cross currents and a tangle of conflicting and confused declarations prevents the emergence of any simple issue.

In the Labour manifesto there is a petulant tone which suggests that the writers are trying to excuse themselves. In spite of a curious clumsiness of style (such, for instance, as the use of the weakening word "very" seven times in the first page) there are passages reciting how the present situation has come about which are not without force.

But criticism and attack on the Government are common form. It is the constructive side which is not only weak but contradictory.

THE question which a reader must ask, and ask again, is: "Why, if the Government has bungled, has 'run away,' has betrayed its trust and is leading the country to war, why must the Labour Party support it in the chief item of its policy, the overmastering appeal which overshadows all else—the frantic and extravagant expenditure on armaments and war preparation?"

The Labour Party has nailed collective "security" to its mast. It flutters through every page of this document. But the Government do not believe in collective "security," and the Labour leaders know the Government do not believe in it.

**Yet the application of £1,500 million to arms-increase is supported by Labour; and this entirely stultifies all their criticisms against the Government.**

To fall back on saying that "A Labour Government will unhesitatingly maintain such armed forces as are necessary to defend our country" is to repeat a dear old bit of balderdash used by every government in every country every time the question of armaments is discussed. Anything so uninspiring cannot be conceived.

THE aggressor Powers are named so that there may be no doubt as to how the world is to be divided under collective "security."

All preparations are to be made for the fight against fascism and "such armed forces as are necessary" in such a war would assuredly drive the party into imposing conscription on the country, because the aggressors have to be confronted "with an emphatic superiority of armed force."

It is a pity that the feeble-forcible truculent note has to be emphasized, because of course a Labour Government would do none of these foolish



ERNEST BEVIN,

Chairman of this year's T.U.C., which endorsed the Labour Party's manifesto on "International Policy and Defence."

things. It would adopt the method of conciliation which it did both in 1924 and 1929.

It would not dream of insisting on sharp irreconcilable differences being maintained between nations.

It is doubtful whether such a government would find it wise to call another disarmament conference although it would certainly tackle the question of endeavouring "to remove the economic causes of international rivalry."

THE international air "police" force, of course, crops up. There is no need, however, to argue any more against this fanciful notion. A Labour Government would soon find it impossible of realization.

It would seem as if the manifesto had been written chiefly by two persons. The one, thoughtful and sensible, trying to draft the paragraphs with real consideration of present circumstances; the other interrupting and insisting on tags being put in and meaningless abstract phrases to give the document a sufficiently combative note so that the great surrender to the Government's main policy of rearmament may be modified or even concealed.

A good article in *Forward* of September 11 by the Editor deals with the Labour Party and the policy of rearmament very forcibly. The chances of the return of a Labour Government in the near future are slight.

**The failure of the leaders to make the prospects brighter is entirely due to the vacillating attitude they have adopted and the consequent failure to rouse anything like enthusiasm among the millions of their anxious supporters, not to mention the thousands who would join up if the anti-war policy of the party were definite beyond doubt.**

THE policy of the pamphlet has been endorsed by the Trade Union Congress with great applause from the Conservative Press.

As one of the leading delegates declared that decisions of the Trade Union Congress "will have to be accepted" by the Labour Party, the verdict at Bournemouth may be taken as a foregone conclusion.

Arthur Ponsonby

PART of taken b by Internat The man the Ruhr d out that "w

"THE me Gover taking in th how the p subject to tarism," said situation, so concerned, pre-1914 situ

"All Germ by German especially th —by men in

"Was not ciless exploit of French ex to be? . . .

"What That the

The Co

From Our CAST

A local ne in the New Y the summer his staff have tore fortress demolished t being a child

The editor always, it is worst tyrant

Just so! mon enough up to these c

Bitte a

TOURING

summer I village, Blegn Belgium, whe citizens were between Aug August 16 th two brothers church wall.

The latter ated by a F memorial of witness, a sta Church, the Church where wide, and a p which appear men and the v 1914-1918." 1914-1918.")

I found spirit still F Belgium.

While we k those who wi suffered ther impossible fo they deliberate

The work o



## BEST WAY TO MEET AN INVADING ARMY

PART of a manifesto giving an indication of action that could have been taken by Chinese in face of Japanese aggression has just been published by International Anti-Militarist Bureau.

The manifesto was originally issued in 1923, when French troops occupied the Ruhr district of Germany, but the Press Service of the I.A.M.B. points out that "what was said in 1923 is worthy of consideration in 1937."

"THE measures which the French Government is at this moment taking in the Ruhr show once more how the people internationally are subject to the dictatorship of militarism," said the manifesto. "Does the situation, so far as the 'occupation' is concerned, differ so much from the pre-1914 situation?"

### "OCCUPIED"

"All Germany was then 'occupied' by German soldiers. Now it is more especially the Ruhr which is occupied—by men in French uniforms.

"Was not the Coal Syndicate a merciless exploiter, just as the Commission of French experts and others will prove to be? . . .

"What is the way out? This! That the organized workers of

every country should, in the first instance oppose themselves their own Government. . . . Now more than ever is the time for all our friends to persuade the French and Belgian soldiers to refuse military service for their imperial masters.

"But what shall we say to the German workers? This, more earnestly than ever—try the strategic move of the 'reception'! Let the French Army penetrate to Essen, to Hamburg, to Berlin, if it is determined to do so.

### NO DIFFERENCE

"There is comparatively little essential difference to you whether your country be occupied by German soldiers or French soldiers—certainly no sufficient difference to be worth a war, or an armed revolt.

"If the governing class had not succeeded in poisoning the brains of the people with false ideologies, each worker would recognize in each soldier a worker like himself—imprisoned in a uniform.

"And then, with how many troops could France occupy Germany? With one million, two millions? Suppose she were to do so. What would that signify among a people of seventy millions, if the people were to receive the soldiers in a spirit truly revolutionary?

"The whole 'occupation' of the Ruhr is nothing but a change of the name of the exploiter. The exploitation does not change!"

## The Common Enemy— FEAR

From Our Special Correspondent  
CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

A local newspaper quotes an article in the *New York Times* describing how the summer residences of Hitler and his staff have been turned into miniature fortresses, one of the houses demolished to make them inaccessible being a children's sanatorium.

The editor's sole comment is, "As always, it is fear which makes the worst tyrants."

Just so! Then when shall we summon enough courage ourselves to stand up to these cravens?

## Bitterness Left by War Creates a Problem for Peacemakers

From a Special Correspondent

TOURING on the Continent this summer I happened to visit a little village, Blegny-Trembleu, near Visé in Belgium, where sixteen of the leading citizens were shot by the Germans between August 4 and 15, 1914; on August 16 the burgomaster, curé, and two brothers were shot against the church wall.

The latter incident is commemorated by a photograph on the War memorial of a painting by an eyewitness, a stained glass window in the Church, the splintered stone of the Church where some of the bullets went wide, and a plaque above the spot, on which appear the names of the four men and the words "N'oubliez jamais 1914-1918." ("Let us never forget 1914-1918.")

I found that that unfortunate spirit still prevails in many parts of Belgium.

While we know that it is difficult for those who witnessed such scenes, and suffered therefrom, to forget, it is impossible for them to forgive while they deliberately nurse their grievances.

The work of M. Van Zeeland and of

King Leopold will be in vain while such a spirit lingers, and its still living power is manifest in the tremendous new War memorial to the Allied Armies which, still incomplete, now dominates Liège and was only begun in 1935.

### CONTRAST

In sharp contrast to that was the spirit of the Jamboree which I also visited, where Belgian Scouts fraternized with others from many lands (unfortunately, excluding Germany), and of the youth hostels in Belgium where I stayed, and where German friends were made as welcome as any.

Which spirit is to prevail? The fostered hatred engendered by the last war or the new spirit of fellowship to be found in so many of our youth movements today?

Can we pacifists do something to eradicate the former and to promulgate the latter, abroad as well as at home? If we are to save the world from imminent chaos we must act, and that now, and insist that the suggested world conference be called at once.



From a New Zealand Correspondent

PACIFIST students from the university at Christchurch, New Zealand, recently went through the streets on this lorry, displaying captions such as "Blessed are the poor, for they shall make excellent cannon-fodder," "Blessed are the simple, they believe war inevitable," and "Blessed are the shareholders, for they shall draw dividends."

A local Justice of the Peace had given a fiery speech on Anzac Day, eulogizing soldiers and war in general, and the Bishop of Christchurch had just consecrated new colours for the local regiment.

## FIFTY YEARS OF ESPERANTO

From a Correspondent

I HAVE just been reading *Verda Stacio: Esperanta Almanako de la Chekoslovaka Radio*.

Its eighty pages of well printed matter contain six on the evolution of Czechoslovak radio, the remainder dealing mostly with the Esperanto work of the Czech radio station, Brno. A full list of the various broadcasts shows the vast range of programmes broadcast to the ends of the earth.

The following passage is of special interest:—

"In Dr. Zamenhof (the inventor of

Esperanto) we see not only a philologist of genius, but also a pacifist, who put into the hands of man a unique weapon of peace, the language which possesses the possibility of bringing about the brotherhood of man.

"One must only regret that its merit is not yet recognized officially everywhere, and it is not understood that fifty years of Esperanto means also half a century of spiritual and cultural evolution, half a century of energy and diligence in language study, in organization and propaganda."

## SECURITY—

### FREE FROM THE MENACE OF MARKET FLUCTUATIONS

and the slump brought about by international uncertainties savings invested with the St. Pancras Building Society always maintain their par value and bear interest at **FOUR PER CENT. PER ANN. FREE OF INCOME TAX**

Write for particulars of the £10 withdrawable shares to

E. W. BALES, Managing Director

**ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY**  
**27 FETTER LANE, E.C.4**

West End Office, 3 Wigmore Place, W.1

## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By R. H. WARD

THOSE who advocate non-resistance to the aggressor are sometimes reproached with the willingness to give away not only the British Empire but England herself, as though she were a portable object that one might hand over (and so be done with) as one hands over money or goods. But the reality of England is a valuable that cannot be given or taken away in this sense. What is of basic and immutable value in England is, like all other supremely valuable things, unable to be handled, bandied about, subtracted and divided, for it is a subjective and inward experience of the individual; it cannot be divided or made to change hands like a cake or a parcel of land. What we love in the word England, what gives it its magic and poetry, is not the concrete fact of England's hills and streams, woods and valleys, but what these things express to the individual mind, inwardly and subjectively. It is not a tract of country, *qua* country, but the thing we call the "atmosphere," the spirit of a place, that gives intangible and inexpressible life to hill and stream, wood and valley. This cannot be weighed or measured, given or taken; nor can it, in the concrete sense, be shared.

We cannot share the real value of England; but the effect of the emotion of love, such as we feel for England, is the desire that others shall love what we love; and this they may only do by seeing, as we see, the outward concrete fact of England. This desire born of love is the true meaning of patriotism, love of country, as the pacifist must know it, for at the base of his creed lie generosity and sacrifice. These are different from the half-measure of sharing, and where the inward subjective experience is concerned the question of sharing cannot arise, because subjective experience (such as ours of the "atmosphere," the reality, of England) is incommunicable and indivisible; nor have we any way of proving that any two persons have the same inward subjective experience of a common outward object.

The emotion of love, then, demands that we allow others also to experience it, at whatever cost to ourselves. And the principle at the base of non-violent resistance is sacrifice, not "defence"; it is practised for the aggressor's sake not for our own, to save him from himself, not to save us from him. So non-violence, motivated by love, does indeed offer "to give England away." Those who reproach us are right, superficially at least.

But two things, which are in reality the same thing, have to be reckoned with: non-violent resistance (so long as it is practised for love and not for self-defence) works; and love works, too, mysteriously. If we offer the concrete fact of England in order that through it the aggressor may subjectively experience the "atmosphere" which is England's reality and value, what is the effect on the aggressor of this subjective experience? The same, surely, as on ourselves, the same love for this atmospheric reality, the same necessity for sacrifice arising out of that love, the same action arising out

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

IT is significant that, since September 1, I have had ten demands from outside organizations asking for P.P.U. speakers. No longer is it a question of trying to get a door open, but of finding enough speakers to fill the gap. Public opinion is forcing its way out to meet the growing pressure from our groups. Teachers and adult schools, Scouts and Guides, doctors and Red Cross workers, members of the L.N.U. and clergy are all making a move inside their organizations and influencing them. This is a sure sign of growth. We have been able to satisfy the demand at present, but it means endless rushing about by a small number of well tried speakers; if the pressure increases, as it is bound to, we must find new names. It will have to be met locally, and regional secretaries will be asked to help.

Kingston is to have a good start off to its winter's work by the visit of Lord Ponsonby on Sunday, September 26. He is going to speak at the Adult School, Friends' House, Eden Street, at 3 p.m., his subject being "Why I am a Pacifist." Here is an opportunity to bring along the "yes-buts." Tea will be provided at sixpence per head for those who can stay for the evening meeting at 6.15, when I shall follow up the previous discussion on "Christianity and War." Time will be allowed after each address for questions.

A new group has been formed at N.I., called the **Islington Central Group** and the leader is Mr. L. Griffiths, 56 St. Paul's Road. A new group is being formed at **Highbury** on Tuesday, September 21, at 8.15 in the Unity Church, Upper Street, Islington. Both these are offshoots of the very active **Kentish Town** group, who are already knee-deep in their autumn campaign.

A week-end school has been arranged by the **Leicester** group at Crich on October 9 and 10 (a good idea these schools, and one which might be followed!); an appeal is made to P.P.U. members in **Nottingham**, **Derby**, and **Sheffield** to attend. The subjects are: "Are Pacifists Realists?" and "The Practical Application of Pacifism." The speaker is Mr. Herbert Whately, president of the Birmingham P.P.U. The school begins Saturday tea-time and lasts till Sunday tea-time—cost 9s. inclusive. Please send 2s. 6d. booking fee to Mr. W. R. Burwell, 19 Evington Road, Leicester.

**Halifax** is getting into the public eye! It has arranged with the owner of some vacant land to allow a notice board to be erected. New posters will be displayed each week, and as it is in a good position much publicity and interest will be aroused. If each group will do the same over 600 new posters can be displayed each week. How about it? Posters can be had from 96 Regent Street.

of that necessity: the concrete fact of England must be given back. There is a mystery here, the mystery of the words, Cast your bread upon the waters, and it shall return to you after many days. But cast it upon the waters only that it may return, cast it upon the waters for your own sake and not for the sake of the greedy sea that demands it, and it is lost for ever. If England is to remain ours, she must be given for love, not for expediency; we must be willing to lose her. And this is a hard saying, though worthy of all men to be received.

## What Others are Doing

From Our Own Correspondents

THE Oldham group has just completed a successful first year, and its annual meeting, to be held this afternoon, will mark the commencement of a 'second year, for which a syllabus has already been printed outlining group events as far ahead as next June.

Details of this afternoon's meeting appear on page twelve.

### MORE HAMPSHIRE ACTIVITY

Within a week of one another two groups of the P.P.U. have been started in Hampshire and Surrey. They are at **Romsey** and **Haslemere** and at both the inaugural meetings Mr. C. W. Hope Gill, Regional Secretary, spoke on the work of the movement and gave useful advice for the starting of group activity.

At Haslemere Miss Bingham, of Harley Common, Haslemere, is group leader, and from the keenness and enthusiasm evinced this group should go ahead.

### PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS

The **Palmers Green, Southgate**, and **Winchmore Hill** group recently decided that a local headquarters would be of real service to it in its development.

Accordingly a flat has been rented, consisting of five rooms, one to be used as a literature room and library, one as an office, one as a kitchen for preparing refreshments for socials, &c., and one as a group meeting room. All fittings have been given by members—either directly or by subscription—and at the recent opening of the headquarters the Rev. Harold Luckman and H. Runham Brown spoke on the work of the War Resisters' International.

For those interested in the venture the secretary of this group puts forward the following points for consideration:—

1. Headquarters should not replace the existence of one or two small cells but merely coordinate and develop them—headquarters may be closed or declared illegal in time of emergency, while the cells are unassailable.
2. It is essential for other organizations in the locality working for peace to work with the P.P.U. where at all possible, and it would be difficult for them to make the necessary contact with unorganized cells. A local headquarters is of great value in this connexion.
3. It should be assumed that all costs entailed will be borne entirely by local group funds so that they can feel they are self-supporting and that their efforts represent their own strength, and are in proportion to the vitality and ability of the group itself. (To make this fair to those in poorer districts some help from better-placed groups might be given voluntarily and a scheme might be considered whereby one particular group would be the responsibility of a more fortunately placed group.)
4. Outside people, such as those who are introduced to the movement at open-air meetings, can be asked to pay a visit to the local headquarters, while it is not always possible to extend an invitation to them to attend a cell meeting in a

## The Notice Board

Will those who have applied please note that **Canon Morris's pamphlet** is now ready but **Middleton Murry's** will be delayed owing to his illness; publication date will be announced later.

Don't forget there is **library of pacifist books at H.Q.** Catalogue and borrowing conditions from Librarian, P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, W.1.

**Basque children foster-parents:** photos of your child can be bought at H.Q. now, 2½d. each.

**Collecting boxes** for use in raising funds for the P.P.U. are now obtainable from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

**Group being formed at West Norwood, S.E.27.** Those interested communicate with Sydney Larcombe, 59 Auckland Road, London, S.E.19.

**Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers** each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

There will be **no poster parade from 96 Regent Street this Saturday**, owing to the Convention, but volunteers would be welcomed on any subsequent Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices at 6.45 p.m. A limited number of posters and leaflets are available.

## P.P.U. Regional Secretaries LONDON

**Enfield.** Raymond Page, 34 Bullsmeor Lane, Waltham Cross, Herts.

**Hammersmith.** J. O. Greenwood, 45/7 Endell Street, W.C.

**Harrow.** William Grayer, 5 St. Edmunds Drive, Stanmore, Middlesex.

**Hornsey.** W. A. Wharton, 4 Coleridge Road, London, N.8.

**Hounslow.** Reginald Harris, 6 Redway Drive, Whitton, Middlesex.

**Kingston Region.** Miss D. L. Whyman, 134 King Charles Road, Surbiton.

**Leytonstone.** Robert G. Avery, 46 Canterbury Road, Leyton, E.10.

**Uxbridge.** James A. Brown, El-Largani, Corwell Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

**W.C.2.** J. O. Greenwood, 45/7 Endell Street, W.C.2.

**Westminster.** Mr. Roberts (no address given yet).

### PROVINCIAL

**Bedfordshire.** Rev. A. Cheetham, Bletsoe Rectory, Bletsoe, Beds.

**Birmingham.** Miss Rhoda Smith, "Peace House," Lee Crescent, Birmingham, 15.

**Brecon.** Rev. R. B. Hankinson, The Manse, Bryn Mawr, Brecon.

**Cambridgeshire.** Dr. Alex Wood, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

**Carmarthenshire.** D. E. Williams, Cwmllethryd, Pontyberen, Llanelly.

**Devon.** Preston Clements, 40 Hurst Avenue, St. Loeys, Exeter.

(To be continued)

private house.

Group leaders interested who would like to visit the headquarters should write to H. F. Moore, 11 Norman Way, London, N.14.

### DR. SHEPPARD AT ABERDEEN

Aberdeen group has been finding its work rather "uphill," but is hoping for results from its first big public meeting, which is to be held in the Music Hall on September 30 under the chairmanship of the Rev. H. H. Ceiron Jones. Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard will be one of the speakers, and is tickets for reserved seats may be obtained from Mrs. Colin Grant, 52 Elmbank Terrace, Aberdeen, or from the Y.M.C.A., Union Street, Aberdeen.



## PACIFISTS CHALLENGE THE LABOUR PARTY

### To Stage Big Demonstration at Bournemouth during Annual Conference

From Our Own Correspondent

A GREAT deal of importance attaches to the pacifist demonstration in the Town Hall, Bournemouth, on Wednesday, October 6. The meeting is under the auspices of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby and Dr. Salter being the speakers.

The Bournemouth Peace Pledge Union is working hard at the preparations.

The scandalous statement on armaments issued by the National Council of Labour will make the Labour Party Conference at Bournemouth a very critical affair. The pacifist demonstration, falling right in the middle of the conference, will be a vital challenge to Labour.

A great pacifist poster parade is to take place on Saturday, October 2, at Bournemouth as the Labour conference delegates arrive.

Volunteers for this are urgently required from Hampshire and Dorset—names to be sent to Mr. F. Hurley, 32 Sedgley Road, Winton, Bournemouth.

Shilling tickets for the demonstration are obtainable from Margaret J. Stay, 116 Castlemain Avenue, Bournemouth, and should be applied for early.

### Call for Constructive Action at Geneva

The Executive Committee of the National Peace Council has associated itself with an appeal that the forthcoming meetings of the League of Nations should be used to strengthen influences making for peace and to arrest the spread of war.

"The Council believes," says a statement adopted by the committee, "that the League in its present meetings can best reflect the repudiation of methods of violence and aggression which is common to the great bulk of public opinion throughout the world and most effectively contribute in a practical sense to the restoration and reinforcement of peace, if it:—

"a. Rejects unequivocally and in all circumstances the moral and juridical validity of situations reached by methods of violence and aggression in defiance of international pledges;

"b. Addresses urgent and unanimous appeals to the nations concerned for the cessation of aggressive action in the Far East and in Spain, as the several discussions of these issues arise;

"c. Makes a substantial advance from this Assembly in the direction of a constructive peace action, notably as regards the development of economic cooperation and the remedying of the social and economic conditions which underlie and provoke the race in arms and are the fundamental factors in the drift toward war.

"The Council believes it to be of the most vital importance that the British delegation should make an active and leading contribution in these directions to the work of the League Council and Assembly, and urges all sympathetic organizations and individuals to make known their support for this appeal at the earliest opportunity."

### WHAT ABOUT YOURS?

SEVEN libraries and one reading room in Salford, Lancashire, now display PEACE NEWS every week. With the further addition of Newton Abbott and Peterborough City, this brings our total up to 230. But there are more than 230 libraries in the country, so someone is still out of fashion!

Write to your local library committee if PEACE NEWS is not yet in your library.

### Bishop Condemned "Gunmen"

#### —BUT WHAT OF WAR?

IN a *Church Times* report of the Bangor Diocesan Conference, Dr. Green, Bishop of the diocese, was reported to be "emphatic in his protest against lawlessness—the ways of the gunman and the terrorist—as a means of the redress of grievance or the righting of wrongs."

"His hearers had no difficulty," continued the report, "in recognizing the aptness of the rebuke and the condemnation of certain manifestations of the unbalanced nationalist movement in Wales."

The force of this protest has prompted a PEACE NEWS correspondent to recall that "the lawlessness the Bishop condemns led to no loss of life—only property. Even in this he condemns the way of the gunman and terrorist."

"Christians would certainly like to know if he condemns modern war, which means not only destruction of property but the massacre of innocent women and children. If one is wrong, how much more the other."

"Is the Bishop straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? Or is he a pacifist?"

### World Conference: Teachers' Discussion

A resolution expressing alarm at the present arms race and urging the Government to give full support to a world conference was to be moved at the annual conference of the National Federation of Class Teachers at Birmingham yesterday.

We hope to publish an account of the discussion in next week's PEACE NEWS.



This peace tableau, entered by the Hastings Peace Group in the recent carnival procession, won fourth prize. The tableau was carried out in blue, white, and gold, and looked extremely effective.

### Esperanto Exhibition

From Our Own Correspondent

AN Esperanto Exhibition is being held today from 3.30 to 11.30 p.m. at the Bethnal Green Institute, Bethnal Green Road, London.

The programme includes two demonstration lessons between 4 and 7.30 p.m., an accordion band, a public meeting in the evening, and dancing from 9.30 to 11.15 p.m. Those attending today's Pacifist Convention would be able to get to the Institute and see the exhibition in the intervals of the dancing.

#### L.C.C. CLASSES

A number of classes in Esperanto will be held in London County Council Institutes this September. Particulars may be obtained from the British Esperanto Association, 142 High Holborn, W.C.1. (Quote PEACE NEWS when writing.)

### Post Office Workers Wary of Anti-Gas "Precautions"

The Post Office seems to be encountering some difficulty in recruiting members of its staff for "Anti-Gas Precautionary Measures."

As was reported in PEACE NEWS a short while ago, a notice was distributed calling upon employees to notify their superior officers if they did not wish to undergo training. This

### Another Tribute to General Crozier

By DAVID A. PEAT

IT was good to read the tribute paid by PEACE NEWS to General Crozier.

You write of his honesty and integrity. I would like to add a note, from my own experience, of his kindness to a complete stranger.

I was seriously ill in 1929 at Tatsfield in circumstances of some difficulty in the house of people who did not know me. They were most helpful but it was not convenient for them to have a sick person in their home, at that time.

One day a short, dark man came and talked to me. A bluff, direct sort of person, but, I felt instinctively, a fundamentally compassionate man. He suggested that I might come to his house and that his wife could look after me, if we could fix up a nurse.

The next day he came again, tramping over the hill from his home at Westerham, I think.

#### SENSE OF HUMANITY

I liked the man though I was too ill to talk to him; it was obvious that he had a great deal of understanding and a sense of humanity. Circumstances made it impossible to take advantage of his humane offer and I left in an ambulance for a medical home with a resident doctor.

If the people with whom I lived for those few days should see this I hope they will accept it as an expression of appreciation for what they did in difficult circumstances. I cannot now remember their name.

Human nature is very complex but I think that General Crozier was one of those rare men who have to serve with their whole being the cause to which they have dedicated themselves, unable to compromise in any way.

He did not compromise in the army, and later in the service of the peace movement he refused to compromise, and, great-hearted, had to unburden all that he knew, even at the risk of misunderstanding.

followed an earlier circular asking for volunteers, and was widely criticized as a form of semi-compulsion.

Post Office employees are now receiving yet another notice in which it is stated that "the training is purely voluntary." Opposition to the previous methods of recruiting employees for this training had been expressed by the Union of Post Office Workers.

## RECONCILIATION . . . .

### A monthly review published by The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The purpose of "Reconciliation" is to review affairs from the Christian Pacifist point of view, to develop a constructive peace policy expressive of Christian principle and to keep peace workers in churches, colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other.

A specimen copy will be sent to you free of charge on application to the Editor, "Reconciliation," 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1

## Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:  
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

### Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

September 18, 1937

## THE OTTAWAN OSTRICH

COMING home from holidays in Switzerland, Brittany, the Black Forest, the Italian Lakes, Belgium, Holland, Finland, Russia, and the rest of Europe—now so easily accessible to the tourist—the British holiday-maker has been confronted in the Press with the enlarged portrait of Lord Beaverbrook. Lord Beaverbrook has a head not unworthy to wear the crown of the late Lord Northcliffe, which competition since his death has cut in half and divided between Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. The features of the face before us are those of the ordinary commercial magnate, but the large portrait is the unimportant part of the *Daily Express* advertisement. The gist of this advertisement is that Lord Beaverbrook wants to increase the circulation of the *Daily Express* which, we are at once informed, "is not run for the prime purpose of making profits." The prime purpose of the *Daily Express* ("prime" is good) is "chief of all the ideal of Splendid Isolation" (with a capital S and a capital I) and Lord Beaverbrook continues:—

"We persist in our plea for the detachment of Great Britain from Continental quarrels; we put forward unremitting argument that Britain is not the outpost of Europe, but the heart of the British Empire; we point out that in reality this country now faces the Dominions and the United States in common interests, and no longer looks over the troubled lands beyond the English Channel. To strengthen Britain and make her powerful for peace and for her own defence is the next immediate object of the *Daily Express*."

What is the meaning of such a statement to anyone just back from a holiday on the Continent? Does it mean that during that time the British Isles have removed themselves across the Atlantic in response to Lord Beaverbrook's finding that "Britain is not an outpost of Europe"? Can we now spend our long week-ends in Jamaica or the Falkland Islands instead of Paris and the Hook? Does it mean that since Britain "no longer looks over the troubled lands beyond the English Channel" every face in Britain remains fixedly turned toward Ireland, or, overpeering that insignificant Isle, keeps its gaze rigidly on the City of Ottawa? Or merely that in her desire to avoid the sight of "troubled lands" Britain emulates the ostrich?

Does Lord Beaverbrook know that the history, religion, culture, and tradition of Britain and Canada are wholly derived from the Continent upon which he turns his back, for all the world like a small boy defying his parents? Does he appreciate the fact that so far from not being an *outpost* of Europe, Great Britain is geographically, politically, and economically indivisible from Europe, as the financial history of the past twenty years has proved, as the political history of that period has confirmed, as the passage of aeroplanes over the Channel (now made with less difficulty than our forefathers had in crossing the Thames) makes plain to the dullest wit? Anything less "Splendid" than an "Isolation" which has no basis even in geographic fact is unimaginable.

The *Daily Express* has 2,407,780 readers—ourselves among them. (We read Beachcomber for his comic cuts and the news because the editor has a good nose

# PACIFISM: THE NEXT STEP

By Captain Philip S. Mumford

PACIFISM is a doctrine that has suffered almost universal ridicule and persecution throughout history, but has, at the same time, always attracted a grudging admiration even from its opponents. Few of even the most reactionary fail to pay it the lip service of admitting its correctness or even the final inevitability of the ideal. Despite the fact that the pacifist ideal has been kept alive throughout the ages and has been sponsored by most of those who are universally admitted to have been the outstanding leaders and thinkers of recorded history it has been left to the twentieth century to claim the distinction of seeing that doctrine develop into a practical and powerful factor. That this is so is mainly, though by no means entirely, due to the efforts of Gandhi in the East and recently to Dick Sheppard's work in England.

The important point to be realized at the present moment is that pacifism has, for the first time, ceased to be a pious hope and has entered into the world's conflicts as a practical consideration. How does this fact affect the contemporary pacifist? How must it affect the activities and atmosphere of those organizations which pacifists have found it necessary to create? Roughly speaking, we find that pacifists can be classified under three headings:

a. The orthodox religious; those who by honestly searching the teachings of that particular great prophet that geographical, racial, or other circumstances have attached to them, have renounced violence. These people find themselves opposed not only to their particular religious organizations which have long capitulated to the political difficulties of non-violence but also to the disillusioned world of the present century.

b. Those who believe in the fundamentals of religion but have turned against the forms in which mankind has attempted to express it. These people find themselves in opposition to the attitude of the officially religious pacifists (who sometimes fear their rivalry in the religious field equally with those who deny any form of religious approach).

c. The political pacifist. He is a striking, entirely modern creation and the logical strength of his position is a striking testimony to the degradation and chaos into which political violence has led the world. This logical strength may be a danger, for it often leads this type of

for the sensational in Continental happenings.) Can we believe that 2,407,779 readers of the *Express* think "the change in Britain from a free-importing to a tariff-guarded country," for which Lord Beaverbrook claims no small credit, has been anything but disastrous to the peace of the world? Do they imagine that English friendship, on a profit-making basis, with South African colonists or Indian nabobs will solve the little differences which the British Government has with Hitler over colonies, or Mussolini over the future of Spain?

Lord Beaverbrook promises to remain faithful to these policies of his if only we will increase the circulation of the *Daily Express*. They happen to be, in our view, more destructive of international peace than any others on the politico-journalistic market. The moral for anyone who desires to preserve the welfare of his fellow-countrymen for even a few more years is obvious.

pacifist to underestimate the difficulties which lie ahead and thus he fails to appreciate the necessity for, and the line of approach of, the two former sections.

It will not be necessary to stress the fact that, despite the common bond between these three classes of pacifists, the fundamental differences in their outlook make practical cooperation and organization of activities a matter of some considerable difficulty. All three are confronted with the problem of how to stop war, the obvious urgency of which problem tempts them to place too much emphasis upon immediate objectives. In effect the problem presents itself in the following manner. Can our civilization be prevented from blowing itself up? And if so, can that salvation be obtained by acceptance of and with the help of the orthodox gods, by new gods or by political activities? Do we need a political or a moral revolution? Or both? If we need both, which comes first? This last question is, perhaps, the one most frequently asked and is, I believe, the one which should be approached with most caution. It finally resolves itself, of course, into the practical question as to whether quality or quantity is most essential for pacifist movements.

The politically minded, impatient with the futility of warfare, turn their eyes to the efficiency of some of the tactics of extreme Right or extreme Left. Something practical must be done at once and their hopes centre themselves on building up efficient organizations which shall produce immediate results and shall, by the force of their numerical support and constructive leadership, produce peace much as Stalin produces welfare centres for the workers. Even perhaps, as Lord Cecil would lead a mighty and efficient army to slaughter the aggressor in the name of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

As against these opportunists (be they ever such idealists) the path of the centre section of moral revolutionaries appears slow to the point of pessimism. It seems no less slow, indeed, to the orthodox religious who, having laid their troubles at the feet of their God, are reluctant to admit the impotence of that God without the cooperation of his creatures. The ideal of building upon a basis of quality rather than quantity, of constructing a foundation which the logic of daily events suggests may be hardly visible above ground before the next catastrophe of a major European conflict comes upon us, may appear indeed almost in the light of treachery to both sections.

Yet I believe it is essential for all to remember that the mesmerism of the time factor has ruined many of the most hopeful movements. The pacifist must be able to conquer sentimentality and possibly even fight his own personal inclinations to save the world from brutalities. If the gospel of non-violence is the next inevitable step that civilization must take before it can advance further, that gospel must be built on a firm foundation irrespective of any other consideration. A firm foundation may take time, and time may be responsible for a future sacrifice of many, both pacifist and non-pacifist alike, but that is of secondary importance. Such a foundation will not be built without the cooperation of all three schools of thought, but I believe that it is from the centre section—the moral revolutionaries—that the greatest impetus will come.

I have purposely given least attention to the first section because I believe that the established churches of the official religions have become entangled in a position in modern civilization from which they will find it impossible to extricate themselves without forming a close alliance with the moral revolutionaries. The immediate danger comes from the last section which, although it has a most important function to perform, is inclined to ignore the primary necessity of the other two sections. This political section tends to extremes of pessimism and optimism, in that the Left wing despairs of practical achievement pending economic revolution whilst the Right wing places unwarrantable faith in bourgeois democracy. Both make the mistake of over-estimating the importance of legislation in human affairs.

Pacifism can only work through the conscience of



# EP PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

1914 and All That

SIR CHARLES MALLET re-stated a belief (or was it more of a hope?) in a letter to *The Times* last week, which one thought had died twenty years ago. He believed

that the younger generation is just as ready as it ever was to fight, when convinced of the necessity, for British freedom, British security, and British honour.

A correspondent of PEACE NEWS has taken him to task in another letter to *The Times*, advocating a world conference and declaring that:

The younger generation cannot fail to see that the present situation is very like that of the years immediately before 1914. The younger generation of that day fought and won, and failed to secure the peace and security they were told would result from victory. Today we are "as we were."

Up to the time of going to press this letter has not appeared in *The Times*.

## Arms Profits

ARMAMENT profits, the Government told us not long ago, will be adequately controlled. It seems they are being controlled just as adequately as the arms firms would like, for the figures given by the

City Editor of the *Daily Herald* recently, showed that: The total profits of 37 leading iron and steel companies with important armament interests have alone increased from £4,829,256 in 1934, the year before the arms programme started, to £11,240,794 in the current financial year. This is an increase of £6,411,538, or 133 percent in three years.

## Spreading Civilization

THE first military tattoo to take place in Malaya was held in Singapore recently. "As a first venture," said a newspaper report, "it was a great success, and presented a picture never before visualized by the Oriental mind."

Quite; we had always understood that the East was highly civilized at a time when we in the West were more savage in our ways than we are now.

## Result of War

AN appeal to both sides in the Spanish war has been issued over the signatures of many well-known people, including the Archbishop of York, Lord Cecil, Canon Raven, and the Rev. Henry Carter. In one passage it says:

One of the gravest dangers of war is that, though it may have been started because of opinions and ideals which, however mistaken, were at least sincere, the bitterness engendered by the course of hostilities tends to obscure and even replace the original causes of war and prolong it to a needless extent.

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

the mass of the people and new laws of government are powerless in themselves to affect human behaviour. This should not blind us to the fact, however, that non-violent resistance may not need the complete revolution in ethics that is sometimes claimed. The chief necessity is not only to realize the practical efficiency of non-violent forms of defence, but to understand that such methods are merely a logical development of the technique of the general strike. Nevertheless, behind all this must lie the moral conviction that violence is a negation of the law of the universe; without that conviction non-violent action is unattainable. Such a belief does not lie in a sentimental exaggeration of the value of individual life but in the knowledge that lethal methods damage the perpetrators and their cause more than the victims.

Pacifism in all its aspects now controls a powerful body of opinion. The next step is for pacifists of all degrees to realize their own particular functions within the movement and thus to present a united front to the forces that still acknowledge violence as an integral part of human affairs. Until this unity is achieved external propaganda should remain a subsidiary activity.

## A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

# Simplification and Society

THERE comes a moment when it is necessary that there should be a great simplification.

The complexity of modern society, the vast and still largely unconscious divorce which it engenders between our personal idealisms and the social conduct to which we are passively compelled, produces a feeling of a paralysis and helplessness. We are being borne along, by forces we do not comprehend, to a destination we cannot discern. The feeling of helplessness is not new in human experience. What is new, oppressive, and sinister is the combination of a mastery over the forces of Nature, undreamed-of even 200 years ago, and a sense of impotence to prevent them from being perverted into scarcely imaginable powers of destruction and death. Humanity today is like Caliban: it turns savagely on the wisdom and spirit of the Universe.

You taught me language, and my profit on't

Is I know how to curse.

And it is like Caliban, too, in that it dreams dreams and hears voices, and is distraught between the ideal and the real. The gulf between them yawns like an unfathomable and unbridgable abyss; and the effort to pass from one side to the other seems no longer to be within the power of man.

Then comes the urge for simplification, for a mere blank cessation of the gnawing conflict between what we are and what we would be, between what is and what could be. Creeds, with all the force of religions (because they are religions) sweep over the earth, to take the burden of freedom from man. The State is all in all: what it commands, that men must do, for that is the whole end of man. The fiat of the authoritarian State comes to the bewildered individual as a mighty release. The will of God is declared plainly to men once more; it is blared from two million loud-speakers that leave no room for the insidious activities of thought. The voice may seem a grim parody of the words once spoken: "Come unto me all ye that are weary, and labour, and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest: for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." It is a grim parody of those magical words; but let us not forget that it comes to thought-weary millions in the modern world with something of the comfort of the message of old. Millions of men in Germany, millions of men in Italy, believe with simple faith that the Führer and the Duce now carry the burden that has been too great for them. These semi-divine leaders have taken on them the responsibility which individuals were too weak to bear.

Whither they are being led is no concern of theirs any more. It was the unanswerable "Whither?" that paralysed them. Now it is enough that they are led. The relief is wonderful. What does it matter, really, if life is a little harder than it was before? What does it

matter, really, if it must be guns instead of butter? Those who believe that mankind *cares*, very profoundly, whether it has a shilling more a week, do not understand how much they themselves are the spiritual children of this particular age. Men care, very much, about an extra shilling a week, when there is nothing else to care about. But once give them the feeling that they are marching, in a body, members one of another, led by a Man in whom they believe—and a shilling a week is nothing to them. They despise the time when it loomed large on their horizon. "Man shall not live by bread alone."

That is the great modern simplification that is sweeping the world. We call it Fascism; and half-despise, half-fear it. It has another form: and we call it Communism. The difference between them is great—for Fascism makes for death while Communism makes for life—but in the immediate experience of the simple man they are much the same. These two great simplifications stand embattled against one another. And the Democracies stand bewildered by. What shall their simplification be?

That is the problem of today, or one way of regarding it. And the solution of the problem is not going to be simple. For Democracy, whatever be its failings and inadequacies, represents the attainment of consciousness by a society. In achieving Democracy, a society comes of age: it passes from infancy to responsibility. The burden of responsibility, of having no one to blame for its actions but itself, may be too heavy for it; but it cannot surrender responsibility without an inward convulsion. That is why, in our democracy today, there is no deliberate simplification. We do not simplify. We wait for events to do it. We do not rear; we wait till rearmament is forced upon us. We do not seek for a Leader; it is enough for us that we are pushed. Our sense of responsibility is satisfied when we have determined that we are not responsible.

But parallel with that unwilling simplification emerges the movement toward another kind of simplification altogether—not the simplification that is imposed on the individual from without but the simplification that arises from within. There emerges—because there is bound to emerge at such a moment—a body of men and women who know that they too must surrender their freedom; but they do not surrender it to the State, or to Man. They surrender it to Reason, or Humanity, or God—to the power in themselves, which is not themselves, which makes for righteousness. They will have neither part nor lot in modern war. That is the only simplification possible for Democracy which does not betray the life of Democracy. Democracy is good because, however obscurely and remotely, it rests on a reverence for the individual man. Let it deny that and it must perish. But it cannot perish. A body of men will arise—and is now arising—who will reaffirm it, come what may.

## Captain Mumford writes on Pacifism

AN INTRODUCTION TO PACIFISM. Philip S. Mumford. Cassell. 2s.

CAPTAIN MUMFORD'S new book is none too happy in its modest title, which might easily mislead anyone approaching pacifism for the first time through its pages to the belief that he was being introduced to pacifism in general, whereas in reality the book deals with it only in particular.

These rather random papers, reprinted from various sources and of unequal merit and some redundancy, present, for all their apparent diversity, little more than the political and economic aspects of the subject, though its moral implications are not forgotten.

This is useful and necessary, but one reader at least feels a lack of insight into something more fundamental in pacifism; that is, those aspects of it which are psychological and intuitional, not to say spiritual, without an understanding of which these more superficial aspects cannot be properly faced.

### HONEST AND SINCERE

But the chapters as a whole are practical, sensible, and very well argued: the book is a necessary addition to pacifism's growing literature, and never for a moment does it fail to be completely honest and sincere. Captain Mumford writes, too, with a steady tolerance, and with a nice consideration for his opponents.

The chapter on "Security and Defence" is particularly good; but it was a pity, perhaps, to include two correspondences in which Captain Mumford's reliance on the superior power of the pen over that of the sword is not too well justified.

Indeed, the pen is shown throughout the book to be a dullish weapon: pacifism is hardly so unexciting as this introduction to it would seem to indicate.

R.H.W.

### Songs for Pacifists

The War Resisters' League, 171 West 12th Street, New York, has produced a song book which should be of great interest to peace workers.

Many of the melodies are old favourites and the new words have a really fine spirit behind them. There are one or two entirely original songs which, though very good, have not the force in them which could be desired.



Captain Mumford

## Four Centuries of "Peace Projects"

COMMONWEALTH OR ANARCHY. Sir J. A. R. Marriott. Philip Allan and Co. 5s.

Reviewed by HEDLEY SMART  
BOOKS on controversial subjects can usually be described as potted prejudice; their writers go all out to bludgeon our convictions with a weight of top-heavy evidence.

Sir John Marriott, whose book deals with the "peace projects" of the last four centuries, writes with calm detachment. It is only at the end, when he discusses the League of Nations, that he comes down a trifle too heavily on the side of the British Empire.

His survey, as a whole, is likely to make depressing reading for those who believe in Geneva. Nearly all peace-lovers will be surprised to find that as long ago as the reign of Elizabeth such men as Cruce and the Duc de Sully were debunking the institution of war; but the supporter of collective "security" is likely to be shocked to find that the ideal has been a consistent flop for so long.

Kant, Rousseau, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Cobden, Jeremy Bentham, William Penn, these are only a few who devised schemes whose object was to force the world to be peaceful. They all visualized a commonwealth governed by the strong arm of a

righteous majority.

History has shown the fallacy of that ideal. Mankind has a singular reluctance to defend anything but its own skin. If there is a moral to be drawn from so many failures it will encourage pacifists. The book does prove, at any rate, that the technique of individual pacifism is a new one.

One factor has been common to all the peace projects of the past: it has always been taken for granted that the man in the street was prepared to do murder at the request of the man in Whitehall.

### "GOING, GOING . . ."

YOUR opportunities of entering our Art Competition will be "gone" soon, for it closes in twelve days' time. Here are the rules:—

The competition will be divided into two sections:—

- (a) Cartoons.
- (b) Posters.

Arthur Wragg will judge the results and for the best entry in each class a prize of 30s. will be given. But please note very carefully all the following conditions (it is incredible how many disqualified themselves in

harrowing scenes of panic-stricken Chinese being driven about by armed men dissolved into a shot of gun-laden British warships—giving the impression that force was to be followed by more force. As the ugly, arrogant vessels appeared the music broadened out into *Rule Britannia*, and the film ended amid hearty applause.

The superficial effect of the blaring music after the excitement of the preceding scenes was undeniable, and of all places the cinema is the one where dangerous and artificial emotionalism can be most easily stirred up, and common sense and sane reasoning swamped.

Surely a protest might be made against the consistently militaristic outlook of so many such "news-reels"?

IVAN BEUTTLER.

27 Central Mansions, Hendon Central, N.W.4

Because a half-wit bought himself a career in diplomacy instead of keeping bees in Dorset, even such cast-iron moralists as Hobbes and Sir Thomas More tacitly assumed that the man in the street was prepared to go to any lengths to make a success of him and keep his name on the front page.

The modern refusal to delegate one's conscience to a government department is a breakaway from precedent. The failure of so many brilliant schemes gives pacifism a new value; and *Commonwealth or Anarchy* will make a useful handbook for those supporters of Dick Sheppard who want something more than the facts of today on which to base their case.

the last competition simply by disregarding plainly stated conditions):—

1. Cartoons to be of a size suitable for reproduction in PEACE NEWS (i.e. so that when reduced any detail would still be distinguishable).

2. Posters may contain lettering, illustrations, or both; but

(a) Lettering must be limited to a maximum of four words in addition to "Peace Pledge Union"; or, if "Peace Pledge Union" is not used, a maximum of six words.

(b) Illustrations must not be in more than three colours.

3. All entries to be sent to 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marked "PEACE NEWS Art Competition."

4. To arrive not later than September 30,

5. Accompanied in every case by the form at the foot of this column filled in with the competitor's name and address.

### PEACE NEWS ART COMPETITION

Name.....

Address.....

## MORE ABOUT PLAYS—Fifth Article by R. H. WARD

THE next consideration is the casting of the play. If the producer (whose job of course this is) does not already know the abilities of the members of his company, he will do well to cast with the reservation that this casting is provisional and may be altered at the reading or the first rehearsal (of which more anon).

On the professional stage type-casting is a stultifying convention: a good and experienced actor should be able to play any part, even if he is physically unsuited to it, and make something of it. But among amateurs type-casting may be a necessity, and is almost certainly the best method for an inexperienced company acting together for the first time.

Even so, the producer should not judge his actors' suitability for parts only on their physical appearances, their ages, and so on; it may be that a person who "looks right" for a part

has not the temperamental equipment for playing it. Here we come back to the "imagination" about which I made a considerable to-do in the first of these articles: the producer must use his insight as well as his eyesight.

Superficially, the obvious thing to do if you have (say) the part of a middle-aged mother to cast is to give it to the member of your company who is herself a middle-aged mother. But if the part is that of an emotional middle-aged mother, and your insight tells you that the actress to whom you were thinking of giving it is by nature phlegmatic, it is unlikely (though by no means certain, for there are startling exceptions to this rule) that she will be able to give the part its full value.

The same applies to the other members of the company; it is necessary to have some indication that they have in their personalities, as well as in their

outward appearances, something that the characters they are to play will call out and make the best use of.

"Character acting" should also be avoided in an inexperienced company; let the elderly play the elderly parts, the young the young parts, the uneducated the uneducated, and so on. Good producing will see that the actor does not stop at merely making a part for which he has been type-cast a reflection of himself.

Right casting is the first essential for success. Once get the right actor into the right part, and half the acting battle is won. Nearly all amateur companies come a cropper on casting, and this is generally because they have not enough actors to allow a really suitable actor to be found for a specific part. Choosing a play to fit your available actors, rather than hunting up actors to fill the cast of a play already chosen, is the best way of avoiding this danger.

Unemployment gone down poverty in the This article stance of a conference a method by ble to build nings of a absurdities

and of t England c attitude of efforts cor systems affected.

The old abundance in our time world before increased measures of in voluntary break with scene, a fre ples in a ne

What fed the been the who could these ye And they

Let us ne that. It is t being rapid only tempo know very the unempl There is no that the wo our hands a

And the f must do so them away munity on the planet, our establsh room to do

For the be have the po only they ha one another

I believ tion, with ways of alternative necessary

To find for war appeals to the Master

It was bac with the Ch the cattle on the Christia have brought kindest of Samaritan, innocently Samaritan h hour earlier, off the robb



# The "HOMECROFT PLAN"

described by  
**Professor J. W. SCOTT,**  
Honorary Secretary of the  
Homecroft Association

Unemployment figures have just gone down again, yet the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty remains. This article, which formed the substance of an address by the author at a conference on cooperation, describes a method by which it may prove possible to build, here and now, the beginnings of a social order in which such absurdities will be unknown.

**F**IFTEEN years of poverty and depression in a country of the material wealth of England could hardly leave the attitude of thinking men to any efforts concerned with voluntary systems and communities unaffected.

The old antithesis of starvation and abundance has stood out more sharply in our time than in the history of the world before. The number is greatly increased of those who despair of measures of reform, have lost all faith in voluntary movements, want a clean break with the past, a total change of scene, a fresh start from first principles in a new social world.

What more than anything has fed the flame of this desire has been the sight of the very men who could do it standing for all these years in the market place. And they are there still.

Let us not make a mistake about that. It is true the visible numbers are being rapidly reduced, but they are only temporarily out of sight. We know very well that the problem of the unemployed has not been solved. There is no shadow of reason to think that the workless will not soon be on our hands again.

And the feeling grows apace that we must do something drastic, either let them away to make their own community on some uninhabited part of the planet, or forcibly make a rent in our established system, and give them room to do it here.

For the belief will never die that they have the power to save themselves, if only they have the chance to work for one another.

I believe in the community solution, without believing that those two ways of reaching it are the only alternatives. I do not think it is necessary either to break up the pre-

**T**O find a Christian justification for war, more and more wild appeals to the life and teaching of the Master are being put forward.

It was bad enough to be confronted with the Christ with the whip, driving the cattle out of the Temple; but now the Christians who are Sanctionists have brought one of the simplest and kindest of Jesus's parables, the Good Samaritan, into the controversy. Very innocently they ask, "If the Good Samaritan had arrived on the scene an hour earlier, would He not have beaten off the robbers?"

sent system or to go away from it.

All would agree that the evil we have to deal with is precariousness of employment. I believe it could be gradually overcome by self-employment, if the men now enjoying wages could join in groups with the remaining unemployed, and first master, and then develop the Homecroft technique for group self-subsistence.

**I**N trying to explain this technique may I begin by asking you to imagine a group of workers who have a certain amount of time, outside of their wage-earning time, to devote to the interesting occupation of "making" for one another.

Imagine them jointly creating some of their own necessities, assembling these into a common pool, to be shared out; and engaging in this type of self-employment continuously, whether they have much off-time to give to it, being unemployed, or whether they have little, being employed.

The technique in question is simply a mechanism for distributing the common goods among the members of the group. It is meant to be the wheels within the working fraternity.

To get it into proper perspective we must think of a large and loose local membership, comprising many sorts and conditions of the local people, rich and poor, skilled and unskilled, old and young, actual workers, part workers, occasional members, and detached well-wishers.

The mechanism referred to is a system of vouchers called "units of service," earned by all contributors to the common store, and used by them for consumption.

The holder of units simply surrenders so many of them at the store and

**"COMMUNISM** itself rests on communes. The commune does not need to wait for communism. It can be started now with twenty people."

takes the equivalent in whatever goods are available.

All contributors of useful articles or services to the common pool are entitled to units. Mere outside well-wishers will probably not take them or will give them away if they do.



"... the very men who could do it ..."

The units consist preferably of simple paper vouchers, though they may be mere credits written in a book; and one unit of service is to be reckoned as equivalent to some specific, convenient, small amount of money, say one sixth of a penny.

As the system gradually finds its feet it will be an advantage if all who contribute goods or services, whoever they be, accept units in return and utilize them, if not actually drawing from the store themselves, then doing so indirectly by disposing of their units either by ordinary sale to someone willing to purchase them, or by gift to someone whose need may be greater than their own.

The store itself must never, of course, give out money for units, but only goods in its possession, or services at its disposal. The total so distributed must always be something less than the whole pool. The units in people's hands, in other words, must not quite cover the total value of the store. A

margin must be left to be sold to meet monetary charges.

**S**UCH is the system in roughest outline. It could be very simply begun.

The pool might consist of nothing but gifts of used clothing at the first, and the work which earns units in nothing more than the renovating of them and the running of the "shop."

But the group will not be a full fledged Homecrofting group until it is working land communally and filling its store with food as well as general

necessities and comforts. But this, like all its expansion, should come gradually as by natural growth, and the result could and should be that the essentials of life are sure for the members so far as produced by themselves, however unstable the wages they may happen to be earning in industry.

**Moreover, no rent needs to be torn in the present social system for this new thing to be born. Men neither need to desert nor destroy the established order.**

On the contrary, they can only re-establish themselves thus, if they make use of the existing system—and, by that very act perhaps start it growing beyond its present type. There is no room in the Homecroft plan for the destructive moment.

Nay, I would go further. Even if the radicalisms, following their first blind impulse, should destroy and scrap the old order to make room for a better, they will find that this which I have been describing, which as I believe can be done without any destruction, is what they are themselves engaged in doing, is in literal fact the very better order which they are seeking to plant.

*For communism itself rests on communes. The commune does not need to wait for communism. It can be started now with twenty people.*

**by Frank R. Hancock**

Royden, which really wanted to intervene between the warring armies in the Far East. They were not allowed by our authorities to leave this country.

So the ancient Jerusalem authorities, by the same rule, would have prevented the Good Samaritan being on the scene whilst the fray was in progress. Just as the blockade of the German homes was kept up, for eleven months after the end of the War, whilst the Allies were "legally" robbing their prostrate victims.

Apart from the fact that there is no analogy between individual resistance to a wicked man and the collective violence of international war, would it not be more decent of we Britishers not to try and identify ourselves with the Good Samaritan?

## THE GOOD KNIGHT?

We pacifists might go further back still and contend that if the Good Samaritan had been a Good Citizen, men would not have chosen to become robbers. Our pacifist contention is that if a tithe of what has been spent on war on the North-West Frontier of India had been spent in settling these turbulent "robber" tribes on the land there would have been peace and order there. Is it wise for Church leaders to introduce a new complication into Christianity by putting fanciful extensions on to New Testament incidents and parables, even though they must find desperate reasons for supporting armaments and war?

But, accepting this extension, how can it apply to war? Take the most favourable illustration of the Sanctionists—the Italo-Abyssinian War. Will anyone pretend that Italy was a robber and Abyssinia an unarmed traveller?

Italy had been beaten once by Abyssinia. "Adowa" had to be wiped off

the slate, as we had to wipe "Majuba" off. For fifty years Abyssinia was playing off one robber against another, and so managed to retain her independence when the rest of Africa had fallen to robbers. If there was another reason it was because of her terrible warriors.

Italy did not leave Abyssinia dying by the wayside. She is enlisting these particularly cruel soldiers for service in the next European war.

And will our Christian Sanctionists claim that our country is the Good Samaritan when we have annexed more "Abyssinias" than any country in history?

This same Jerusalem-Jericho road is unsafe today. Did any of our recent converts to Good Samaritanism volunteer for service there during the recent rioting—rioting due to political unrest, for which Britain is held responsible by both Jews and Arabs?

The best modern Good Samaritan was the Peace Army of Dr. Maude

## REPLIES TO A CRITIC OF CHRISTIANITY

THE reasons why some pacifists have decided to stay in the Churches were admirably expressed by Dick Sheppard on that memorable Sunday night at the Camp. I see it this way:

1. Christ taught pacifism, lived a pacifist life, died a pacifist death.

2. We can therefore confront the non-pacifist Christian and Church with an unanswerable argument.

3. When the Christian Church is won for pacifism (pacifism has made undreamed-of strides in the Church during the last twenty years) wars will cease. No government could run a war without the support of the Church. Its neutrality, let alone its opposition, would make war impossible. A third of the population of the world is nominally Christian. Where else can such a sphere of influence be found? Mr. A. E. Smith says that one tenth of the population goes to Church. Does any other organization touch one hundredth part of the population?

Many pacifist ministers have put up a hard and heroic fight, why cannot all pacifists cooperate with them? Though some of us prefer to be in Churches where there are "sinners" to be saved.

I vowed in 1917 that I would not leave the Church until the Church kicked me out or the boiler burst, and I won't!

W. R. BURWELL.  
Ideal Chambers, 92 London Road, Leicester.

### BUBBLE PRICKED

A. E. Smith says: "Christianity has been used to justify every evil in the world. The non-Christian pacifist is simply embarrassed when he is told to base his pacifism upon this self-same Christianity."

If he will read Canon Sheppard's book, *We Say No*, page nine, he will no longer be embarrassed. He will see that that bubble was pricked long ago.

T. GUS WHITEHEAD.  
41 Richmond Road, Staines, Middlesex.

### CHRIST MISREPRESENTED

I feel certain that A. E. Smith's views are held by a large percentage of the younger generation.

My view is that this opinion is held because the majority of us have never had Christ truly depicted. It is a fact that as soon as Christianity is mentioned, organized religion comes to mind as representing it—surely one of the last places to find it.

Christianity has never been used to justify every evil in the world. Religion and the Churches as known throughout the world have been the cause of so much strife and hatred, that I believe their own hypocrisy will eventually end them, but they are not Christian and to judge Christ by them is very weak logic.

May I suggest that a study of the book, *Christ and Communism*, by E. Stanley Jones, is well worth while and gives a very interesting view of Christ and His teaching.

WILLIAM R. MARCHANT.  
35 Pine Vale Crescent, Redhill, Bournemouth.

### Vested Interests

The fight against fascism and war is the same as the fight against the germs of disease. The obvious method is to remove the conditions in which they flourish.

The would-be reformer in either sphere finds himself opposed to vested interests, whether of the armament manufacturer to whom it is profitable to have wars, or of the drug-and-serum manufacturer who makes money from pretending to attack germs instead of correcting the poor state of the victim's body.

The naturopath and the pacifist are equally maligned; as such they are at one—apart altogether from the identity of their methods and beliefs!

TOM KEELL WOLFE.  
Whiteway, Stroud, Gloucestershire.

# LETTERS to the EDITOR

## THE BOYS' BRIGADE: TWO VIEWS

### Military Tendencies

P. R. ALDERMAN, in inferring that those militarizing tendencies, which I object to in the Boys' Brigade, exist only in my imagination, appears to have quite overlooked the significant fact, mentioned in my article, that within the ranks of the B.B. Movement itself there are pacifists who are also concerned about them.

GRACE HAWKINS.  
4 Worsley Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

As a member of a Boys' Brigade before the War my training was purely militaristic and consisted many a time of marching up to the mountains and going through a course of skirmishing, methods of advance, and attack, &c., and, on being "mug" enough to join the Army during the

### Sales Record Corner

On September 3 one of our PEACE NEWS sellers sold eleven copies in 35 minutes. What offers at beating this?

W. S. BURTT.  
Birmingham.

past "blood-bath," I was taught exactly the same only on a larger scale.

Our lectures in the Brigade were absolutely on a military foundation. We also used, on our skirmishing, Army rifles only with the bores blocked. I cannot of course say what is at present the training but from my past experience I would not allow my son to join such an organization.

E. C. MADDUX.  
39 Manor Road, Newton Abbot, Devon.

### War Medals

Might I suggest that where medals can be worn to advantage in our peace activities—and such occasions as the one instanced by E. S. Danes undoubtedly occur—the "decorations" could be worn attached to a piece of sack cloth—in place of, or in addition to—the usual prettily coloured ribbon.

Perhaps the words "Penitence, not Pride: never again" might be conspicuously placed.

JOSEPH JACKSON.  
19 Coombe Gardens, Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

### Murder

I have just been reading PEACE NEWS over my tea at a café. When I came out I was confronted by a news placard stating that a man had been arrested for murder.

The conjunction of these two things started a train of thought. The man, if found guilty, will be hanged; the P.P.U. exists to protest against the power of the State being used for the purpose of murdering our fellow creatures on a wholesale scale; if we are consistent we must equally protest against the judicial slaying of an isolated individual.

It appears to me sound psychology that if we wish people to realize the sanctity of human life, we should begin with the unit, not the mass. Of course, pacifist principles have other aspects, but it seems logical that agitation for the abolition of capital punishment should be an integral part of peace propaganda.

R. MACDONALD LADELL.  
54 Newhall Street, Birmingham.

### A Force for Peace

I WISH to correct false impressions that may have been conveyed to readers in the article "The Boys' Brigade and other Movements" in your issue of August 21, which I am sure was written in all sincerity.

The sole object of the B.B. is the "advancement of Christ's Kingdom." Everything else is secondary and contributory; unless an Officer can visualize the object being achieved through every company activity he is well advised to leave this work alone.

There is no need to apologize for the Boys' Brigade where it is applied loyally and governed as it should be by live individual Churches. It is a constructive agency for peace: training fellows to be self-disciplined; to accept and follow Christ and His way of life (of which peace is a part); to create in the world goodwill; in other words to advance its object. It works and still has a great purpose to fulfil.

In the P.P.U. there may be disloyal members and the same may be said of the B.B. All of us have become wiser and, I hope, grown in grace since pre-War days. There is no more a militarizing influence in the B.B. than in the P.P.U.

Miss Hawkins advances the argument that because B.B. boys are fit, they will go to the front in the next war sooner than others. Moral, be C.3! But why talk about the next war? It must not, it will not come.

Such an article as the one referred to above tends to create the opposite of goodwill, but I believe it was sincerely written in partial ignorance of the aims and methods of the B.B.

As a fellow pacifist I trust all your efforts for peace, when inspired by truth, will be blessed.

S. A. TYLER,  
Home Counties Organizer,  
The Boys' Brigade.  
77 Stoke Poges Lane, Slough.

### A Short View

Pacifists need to think carefully whether in view of the new methods of aggression adopted by international fascism they are standing on the side of peace, or abetting the fascist warmongers. The sort of issue we have to visualize is, for example, an attack by Germany on Czechoslovakia. In this event the policy of the National Government (with the approval of the Beaverbrook and Rothermere propaganda machines) would be to keep Britain out. Is the P.P.U. to fall in behind such a policy?

If it is then that is not the way to carry on the fight for peace, because fascism thrives on such weakness. It makes victory for fascism certain and under fascism there can be no peace, in fact, it has rightly been said that fascism is war. Mr. Attlee in his new book, "The Labour Party in Perspective", sums up the position thus: "If the forces of tyranny are prepared to take risks, and know the forces of liberty are not, liberty will not long survive." And when liberty goes we may as well say good-bye to peace.

W. HOOPER, JUNR.  
"St. Cuthberts," Chandlers Ford, Hants.

Perhaps we should have another war "to smash German militarism" and thus become militarists ourselves? Or shall we be sensible and try to remove the causes of fascism and war?—Ed.

## THE WEAKNESS OF CAESAR

I HAVE encountered the same difficulty as Joyce Parkinson of Lancaster, and must admit that for the time I was "floored." My opponent said "if this beautiful flower 'universal and beneficent' has its roots in overwhelming military force, why complain of the present movement to copy the example?"

After a few hours' serious thought I had to ask myself why something that was for the time being so good, did not survive? Is it true to say that the universal and beneficent reign of Caesar did not last, because it was based on force?

THOMAS ABBOTT.  
4 Stamford Street, Nottingham.

### Biography Wanted

At the end of Lord Ponsonby's article in the September 4, PEACE NEWS, he says "The range of the P.P.U. is ever widening." I am writing to suggest another direction in which it might be extended. The P.P.U. has already given us an *Encyclopaedia of Pacifism* and would not a *Biography of Pacifism* add to the P.P.U.'s literary weapons?

Unlike the *Encyclopaedia*, whose aim was largely propagandist, such a biography would mainly interest already pledged pacifists; this would not only enrich their knowledge of pacifism but also show how far-flung, both geographically and historically, is the cause of peace.

If there are any interested pacifists in the W.12 district, I should like them to get into touch with me,

DAVID P. E. HILL.  
Clifton House, Uxbridge Road, W.12.

### Germany

May I write in support of the letter from Corder Catchpool. Many people in this country have created out of their own inner consciousness an image of modern Germany based upon the loose use of certain catchwords like "Fascism," which is absolutely false.

False mental images are dangerous because nations go to war to fight the Eidolon of another nation which is self created and fills the mind like the fixed delusion of a lunatic.

The domestic policy of Germany is an attempt to reconcile a socialist State with a capitalist system. The experiment may fail or succeed, but it is of great interest. The establishment of a socialist State is not, of course, compatible with individual freedom.

The foreign policy of Germany is a peace policy. Wars of conquest and occupation of the territory of another nation are utterly opposed to the whole principle of National Socialism.

A. P. LAURIE.  
38 Springfield Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.

### Individual Stand

The basis of my pacifism is "fear not those that kill the body" and embodies no thought of concerted or mass resistance but, if possible, to avoid attack by a peaceable attitude.

Pacifism to my mind is entirely an individual affair just as belief in Christianity is, and while people of like opinions naturally gravitate together, the individual stand is the primary and essential one.

Association although helpful is chiefly so to "the weaker brethren."

JOHN PURSAILL.  
Duston, Northampton.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.



## Pacifism and Politics

'AWAY FROM  
BIG BEN'



by

Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

LAST week I briefly analysed the composition of an English constituency and pointed out the fractional percentage of active political workers for a new society. Let me continue the analysis.

The average London working man has approximately 36 hours a week to himself outside of work, travel, sleep, and meal times. Deduct from that the time spent in domestic duties, club, trade union, or church gatherings, newspaper reading, shopping and social contacts, and about ten hours are left at the maximum.

But weariness, lack of privacy, and scores of intruding distractions destroy capacity, frustrate inclination, or absorb opportunity for serious study and reflection save for odd moments in the weekly routine. Household or maternal duties produce the same result with the housewife.

Inevitably, minds so circumscribed are primarily responsive to conventional standards and stimuli, economic necessities and emotional urgencies.

AFTER half a century or more, through the convergence of trade union activity, the accumulative effect of socialist propaganda, and the tension of industrial dislocation, the Labour Party has succeeded in forming out of this complex human material a fairly stable body of support for the general principle of a Cooperative Commonwealth. Yet this has taken long years of experience and devotion.

On the other hand, there are those who have been able earnestly to consider political issues and whose reason or bias has led to repudiation of both socialism and pacifism.

And then we pacifists come with our particular perception of truth to inform the great mass who, through conviction or undevelopment, do not share our faith:

"You're all wrong and going to hell. Instantly dissolve your traditions, limitations, fallacies, and fears and disarm or we'll denounce you or will trip you up or we won't play with you any more but start another Party and show you how the task of making a silk purse out of a sow's ear is really done."

Personally, I cannot see that this is the true pacifist technique. I cannot ignore the historic relativity of right and truth or the psychology of spiritual growth. Nor can I believe that ordinary political stratagems or the attempt merely to frustrate the logical registration of non-pacifist policy is either valid or efficacious for pacifism.

In common with my pacifist colleagues I was elected as a socialist and not as a teetotaler, a eugenicist, or a pacifist and I have the obligation of honouring the tolerant confidence reposed in me by my party and voters. It is difficult enough to

## EFFECTS OF JAPAN'S GAMBLE IN CHINA

"WILL Japan be able to stand the financial strain of a big war" as her Prime Minister has now admitted it to be?

This question is being debated now that it is apparent that the newly found Chinese national unity will result in resistance such as Japan has not previously encountered, and it seems that Japan is engaged on a gamble.

The war Budget and eight other emergency measures were unanimously adopted at a special session of the Japanese Diet last week, at the same time that the Australian Minister for Defence was discussing in the House of Representatives Australia's new record "defence" vote of £11,531,000.

This is obviously a result of the same tension that has resulted in the Chinese conflagration, and the Minister declared that the significance of the vote was the importance of providing as much as possible in the shortest

practicable time.

The fundamental problem—which is apt to be overlooked owing to the publicity now being accorded to the war itself and the inevitable "incidents"—was indicated in observations on Japan by a Nanking correspondent of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. This correspondent had visited Japan before the outbreak of war, and in the *Quarterly News Letter* of the International F.O.R. he reports that in Japan "it is considered that China welcomes the building up of a strong economic position by Great Britain in Central and South China as a barrier to Japanese expansion."

"Thus we meet the old and deep-seated trouble that Japan in part regards China as a battleground upon which she must gain a victory over the hated Russians and the gluttonous British."

This also goes far to explain the present attitude of the Japanese toward the British Government.

## Germany Demands Colonies

### But for a New Reason

Virtually nothing that is new has been contained in Herr Hitler's speeches at this year's Nazi Party congress at Nuremberg, apart from a restatement of Germany's colonial claims on a different basis.

Hitherto, raw material scarcity has been attributed to the lack of colonies, but this time Germany's claim was based on the need for food. It was an intolerable thought, declared Hitler, that his country should be dependent on the extent of a good or bad harvest owing to the fact that without colonies she lacked broad acres enough to grow in all circumstances enough food for her people.

"By presenting the colonial claim on this basis," commented the correspondent of *The Times*, "Herr Hitler may be said to have given the interested Powers clear warning that the acquisition of additional territory may become an essential part of the Nazi programme."

Hitler subsequently told journalists that Europe would not settle down until the colonial problem had been settled.

## Vicar to Join R.A.F.

The vicar of St. James's Church, Latchford, Warrington (the Rev. W. E. Woosnam Jones) is to join the R.A.F. as squadron leader.

He is a qualified air pilot and he will act as chaplain for three years.

integrate socialism within democracy, but to disseminate pacifism is far more difficult, for it is a more subtle and strenuous discipline of the human spirit.

I cannot, therefore, accept the facile assumption that pacifism necessitates an evasion of the fact that if I have not yet succeeded in converting 150 active workers I am hardly likely to succeed with 48,000 who are either indifferent, hostile, or relatively passive.

## Indian Penal Settlement Condemned

THE recognition by Indian prisoners in the Andaman Islands of the futility of terrorism for advancing political ends (reported in PEACE NEWS last week) "does not dispose of the question of this penal settlement in itself, the very existence of which stirs Indian feeling to the depths."

So says Carl Heath in a letter published in the *Manchester Guardian*.

"The time has surely come," he suggests, "for the entire abolition of transportation to far-distant islands as a part of the punishment of convicted prisoners in India. As the poet Rabindranath Tagore has pointed out, England has now 'no such unhallowed places for the intensification of suffering.'"

"Transportation and the old days of Botany Bay have long since disappeared. Why then should such exist for India, made the more a source of bitterness by alien rule?"

Another correspondent, however, declared that prisoners were given the choice of serving their sentences in the Andaman Islands settlement, where certain advantages obtained. Nevertheless, if any do show such a preference it would seem to indicate unsatisfactory conditions in the prisons in India itself.

## Plea for Abyssinia

A conference to protest against any recognition of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia was held in the Central Hall, London, last week.

An African from Kenya who was one of the speakers urged that Abyssinians should have far more freedom to migrate to Kenya, British Somaliland, or the Sudan, without any sort of restrictions.

## Platform Pars

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

### Shanghai

FAR from protecting foreign lives and interests in the Far East, foreign troops seem to have increased the danger, judging by these words of the *Sunday Times*:

Until 1927 Shanghai had always been a haven of peace and refuge from the storms of Chinese civil wars. No foreign troops were stationed there. In that year the British Government were impelled to rush a division of British troops to Shanghai to prevent a repetition there of what had happened at Hankow and other Yangtze ports.

Other nations, including the Japanese, followed suit. The danger to the Shanghai foreign settlements soon passed. But the foreign troops remained, because the Japanese, who erected huge concrete barracks in the settlement, would not withdraw. Since then, as the conflict between China and Japan became increasingly acute, Shanghai has been a powder magazine, requiring but a spark to start a conflagration.

"The argument seems to be," comments a correspondent, "that if foreign troops were not kept there, Shanghai would not be involved in every Sino-Japanese quarrel as it is."

### No Steel for Schools

WE in England laughed at General Göring's "Guns or Butter" speech, but it has just been reported that about fifty mothers, who took their children, aged five, to Oak Farm School, Hillingdon, Middlesex, to enrol them for the new term were told there was no room. Later it was explained that extension of the school was held up by lack of steel owing to the arms programme.

One can imagine David Low's Colonel Blimp observing, "Gad, sir, Göring's right! If we use the steel to kill 'em with, they won't need schools."

### Nyon Conference

A RECORD for quick results from an international conference was the speed with which delegates at Nyon agreed to a plan (and that not the one originally proposed) providing for patrol of some 5,000 miles of Mediterranean trade routes by French and British warships.

The conference did, however, provide an opportunity for the Soviet representative to refer to Italy (without actually naming that country) as being responsible for the piracy exploits in the Mediterranean. Although this was partly dismissed in Rome as being due to M. Litvinoff's fear for his life were he not to exploit every opportunity of vilifying Italy, it remains to be seen whether the patrol system results in an end to the attacks on merchant shipping by submarines.

In any event, only "piracy" is condemned. So long as submarines keep to the "rules of warfare" it seems that we shall not mind.

## LATE NEWS

If you have difficulty in getting PEACE NEWS (or if your newsagent is unable to deliver it by Saturday morning) send a card at once to

59 Waterfall Rd., London, N.11

## ORDERS for PEACE NEWS

received later than  
first post on the Wednesday  
before publication date  
cannot be **GUARANTEED**  
(though every endeavour will be made to meet them)

Please give your order **EARLY**

## Peace News

September 18, 1937

YOU can help PEACE NEWS if you . . .

**SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS**

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

1½d. per word, minimum 2s.

Box number 6d. extra

Latest Time for Copy, Tuesday Morning

### APARTMENTS

**CENTRAL LONDON.** Pleasant bed-sitting-rooms facing Gardens. Breakfast optional. Quiet flat. Close to British Museum, University College and Hospital, Friends House, &c. Call any time for above (except Wednesdays and Sundays after 1 p.m.). Also

**FURNISHED BED-SITTING-ROOM,** 5s., to gentlewoman in return some housework and occasional charge.—Apply by letter only to:—L.C., 53 Tavistock Square, 2nd floor, W.C.1.

**STUDENTS' CUBICLES** with board, 35s. week. Large, quiet garden. Table tennis.—Concord House, 23 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

### BOOKS

**PEACE PLEDGE UNION** Library: This is to remind you that there is a library of pacifist books at P.P.U. Headquarters. Catalogue and borrowing conditions on application to the Librarian, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### EDUCATIONAL

**PRIVATE TUTOR** can accept backward boy or youth as boarder, or foreign student to learn English.—Box D.43, PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

### ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

**ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c.,** from 3 to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

### MEETINGS

**"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM"**  
**"LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY"**  
**"ACTA NON VERBA"**  
Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Nottingham Hill Gate. All welcome.  
September 19. Rev. Will Hayes: "The First Step to Peace."

### PHOTOGRAPHS

**SWANWICK PHOTOGRAPHS:** There are still a number of group photographs available at 1s. each (post free). Please send your orders to Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### SITUATION Wanted

**INTELLIGENT WOMAN,** 38 years, desires post as Housekeeper. Very good cook, capable all duties. Highest references.—Gunderson, 58 Tudor Drive, Kingston, Surrey.

### TO LET

**FURNISHED BUNGALOW,** few weeks. Two good bedrooms and one small. Electric cooker. Sunny garden. Bus Eastbourne, &c.—Warner, Privet Cottage, Cow Beech, Hailsham, Sussex.

### TYPEWRITING

**THE SOUTH LONDON TYPEWRITING BUREAU** (Mabel L. Eyles), 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. Telephone Brixton 2863. Duplicating, typewriting, private shorthand lessons, speed practice, &c. Prices on application.

**TYPING FOR "PEACE."** Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7 Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

### WHERE TO STAY

**COTSWOLDS.** In the "Valley of Peace." Food Reform (vegetarian) Guest House. Old world charm: log fires: house car: 2½ guineas (except August). Manager an ex-"C.O." "Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, near Stroud, Gloucester.

**DERBYSHIRE HILLS.**—Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, near Matlock. Tel.: Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.)

**LATE SUMMER HOLIDAYS** at winter terms. Devon and Cornish Coasts.

The best districts for autumn holidays. Two delightful Guest Houses in own beautiful grounds. Good sea bathing, excursions, &c. Comfortable, highly recommended. "Corisande," Newquay, Cornwall. "Fairfield," Dawlish, S. Devon. Free illustrated brochure 37.—Douglas Bishop, Seaside and Country Guest Houses Ltd., "Fairfield," Dawlish.

**LONDON.** Pacifists will find congenial society, comfort, and good food at Concord House. International and strictly vegetarian. Convenient for West End parks, theatres, and stores. Partial board from 55s. week.—Mrs. F. E. Morgan, 23 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11.

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

September

18 (Sat.) 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. The Central Hall, **WESTMINSTER**, London, S.W.1; National Pacifist Convention; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.  
3 p.m. Oak Lodge, Beckenham Road, **WEST WICKHAM**, Kent; regional garden party; P.P.U.  
3 p.m. Ulverscroft Grange, **LEICESTER**; garden rally; Christian Pacifist Fellowship and P.P.U.  
3.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Greaves Street, **OLDHAM**; Canon Dennis Flet-

cher at annual meeting; P.P.U. 3.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m. Bethnal Green Institute, Bethnal Green Road, **BETHNAL GREEN**; Esperanto exhibition. (See page 5.)  
19 (Sun.) 8 p.m. Armoury Square, **STOCKPORT**; open-air demonstration; P.P.U.

19-25 (Sun.—Sat.) **MARYPORT** (Cumberland) Peace Week.

21 (Tues.) 7 p.m. British Schools, South Warple, **MORTLAKE**; combined meeting; John Barclay on "P.P.U. and Cooperators"; Cooperative Women's Guilds of Richmond, Barnes, Mortlake, Kew, Putney, Roehampton.

22 (Wed.) 5.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, **LONDON, N.W.1**; public address by D. D. T. Jabavu on "Changes in South Africa: The Native Point of View"; Friends' Service Council.

7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Darlington Street Methodist Church, **WOLVERHAMPTON**; public meeting; Drs. A. Wood and E. Leighton Yates on "Defence and Rearmament"; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Derby Road, **WATFORD**; public meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**, London W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

8 p.m. Congregational Church and Hall, Lindsay Street, **EPPING**; public meeting addressed by Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, George Lansbury, and Capt. Mumford; P.P.U.

23 (Thurs.) 1.10-2 p.m. 13 Pater-noster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; Mrs. Joyce Pollard on "Pacifists and Palestine"; City P.P.U. group.  
8 p.m. Wykeham Hall, Market Place, **ROMFORD**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard and Capt. Philip Mumford on "Pacifism" at public meeting; P.P.U.

8 p.m. **ABERDARE**; public meeting addressed by Wilfred Wellock; P.P.U.

24 (Fri.) 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, **CARDIFF**; Wilfred Wellock on "The Shaping of World Events"; P.P.U.  
8 p.m. Central Hall (small room), **TOOTING**; John Barclay on "Work of the Groups"; P.P.U.

25 (Sat.) 3.30 p.m. Sutton's Hall, **DARTFORD**; West Kent County Conference; John Barclay and Eric T. Roach; P.P.U.

6.10 p.m. Burford Hall, Fox Lane, **PALMERS GREEN**; International social; addresses by the Rev. B. C. Hopson and an Indian speaker; F.O.R.

### An Essex Peace Venture

From Our Correspondent

**ATTENDED** by representatives of the Methodist Church, Society of Friends, Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, League of Nations Union, and other local organizations, a very encouraging gathering was held recently at Stanford-le-Hope, Essex, which resulted in the formation of a local pacifist organization, to be known as the Stanford-le-Hope Peace Fellowship.

The Fellowship has a basis which is neither party-political nor sectarian and is open to men and women desiring to join in helpful mutual comradeship in the interests of national and international peace and goodwill.

It is arranging various activities, including a study circle, and the latest books and publications of interest are available through a free library.

The Fellowship will—as a recognized group of the P.P.U. and branch of the F.O.R.—keep in close touch with the progress of the rapidly growing pacifist movement and will endeavour to stimulate and strengthen local public opinion.

All those interested are heartily invited to join the Fellowship. There are no fees and no other conditions than active and unflinching support of its aims. Communications to be addressed to: The Hon. Secretary, Stanford-le-Hope Peace Fellowship, Stanford-le-Hope.

The next meeting will be held at "Shelavoe," Branksome Avenue, Stanford-le-Hope, at 7.30 p.m. on September 24.

### PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

To M.....  
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly.

Name.....

Address.....

as from issue dated .....

**Note to Newsagent.**—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11 (Tel: Enterprise 1888).

Please send names and addresses of anyone who might be interested to receive specimen copies of PEACE NEWS to the publishing office, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Baines & Scarsbrook Ltd. (T.U.), 75 Fairfax Road, London, N.W.6

PEACE NI

No. 67

PA

Pac

01

CIVILIA  
SOLDI

From O

N O K  
and  
the  
member th  
tion on  
tanks cam  
paign.

Nearly  
wich-board  
among the  
for the rev  
Brown. T  
ally very  
little symp  
the demon

A huge b  
Arthur Wra  
unfurled on  
in charge o  
sorely tried  
some peopl  
down.

The  
shown to  
came fro  
tanks and  
Colonel

Sir John I  
of the pacif  
have always  
who stand l  
was most  
hostility of

allowed to u  
I came up  
some of you  
Sir John h  
first group  
mutually dis

War Hys

The sense  
as we were  
ostracism, v  
strength, and  
man (or woi  
deep inner je  
the cause wh

We felt al  
some little  
of struggles  
1914-18 as h  
war machin

The dem  
daunted, wen  
night for a  
There were  
Picture next